

Some remarks on a possible Syro-Melchite origin of the MS Sinai gr. 1258.

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The Syro-Palestinian region was the place where Christian chant originated. After the edict of Milan (313 AD) had given the Christians freedom to exercise their religion, the three most important musico-poetical genres were created and developed in the region: the *troparion*, the *kontakion* and the *kanon*. It is in connection with these three types that we find the most celebrated hymnographers. Anthimos, Timocles, Auxentios, and Sophronios of Jerusalem are the first known authors of *troparia*. The most famous of all Byzantine hymnographers, Romanos the Melode, is associated with the *kontakion*, and in connection with the *kanon*, we find such names as John of Damascus, Andrew of Crete and Kosmas of Maiuma, just to mention some of the most important. All of these men were Melchites.

From the very first period of the empire, the Syro-Palestinian area was harassed by doctrinal controversies: in the first half of the fifth century these conflicts divided the Syrian Church into three, and later four different churches. Among these we find the Nestorian church which was formed when the followers of Nestorius after the third ecumenical council (Ephesus 431 AD) withdrew to the Eastern parts of Syria. The adherents of monophysitism, condemned at the council of Chalcedon (451 AD), initiated the Syrian Orthodox Church, the so-called "Jacobite" church in the Western parts of Syria. The part of the faithful that followed the teaching of the council of Chalcedon was said to be of the Greek rite; they continued to obey the emperor (who is in Syriac called *malkî*, the word from which the

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denomination *melchite* derives). Also the so-called Maronite monks, who exercised authority in wide parts of Syria, were *melchites*, but after a conflict with emperor Justinian the Second they established an autonomous patriarchate in Lebanon.

In the course of its history, Syria experienced the Persian invasion in 611, and after that, the Arab occupation in 638. Only in 969 did the Byzantines, under the Macedonian dynasty, regain control of Antiochia and could once more exercise political and cultural influence in this important area.

Even if not all the preserved Syro-Melchite manuscripts provided with musical notation¹ have been examined², we recognize the general picture of the notational systems³, and in some cases it is possible to reconstruct entire melodies in order to investigate the particularities of the local musical tradition. This reconstruction is established through a comparison with Byzantine musical manuscripts. I will here quote what prof. Raasted concluded on the relations between Byzantine and Syro-Melchite MSS: "The Syro-Melkite settings which we have inspected until now, all depended on Byzantine models - ranging from the extremely archaic Coislin Notation to the Round Notation - they are part of the musical tradition which we know from Byzantine musical manuscripts of

¹It should be noticed that the major part of the Syrian liturgical books are not furnished with music at all, cf. H. HUSMANN, *Syrian Church Music*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 18, pp. 472-481.

²After a search for manuscripts in Berlin and Paris, J. Raasted stated: "In Berlin I inspected 23 Syro-Melkite liturgical MSS; 21 of them contained some kind of musical notation. In Paris, where I had only 2 days at my disposal, almost every manuscript which I saw was provided with notation". All these belonged to the Syro-Melchite production of manuscripts from the 13th to the 16th centuries, J. RAASTED, *Musical Notation and quasi-Notation in Syro-Melkite Manuscripts*, in *Cahiers de l'institut du Moyen-âge Grec et Latin*, 31a/b (1979), pp. 11-37, 53-77, esp. p. 13.

³HUSMANN, *Syrian Church Music*, cit., pp. 472-481; M. VELIMIROVIC, *Christian Chant of the Eastern Churches*, in *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. II, pp. 3-25, esp. p. 7.

the 10th-13th centuries, rendering the same melodies as those used in the Byzantine rite in Greek language"⁴.

According to Raasted⁵ the notational types of the Melchite tradition, including "quasi-notational" systems, divide into three categories: The "theta" notation⁶, the "Coislin" notation⁷ and finally the "diple" notation. The Middle Byzantine notation constitutes in the Melchite tradition an exception from the general picture. This notation is only found on few folios of the MS Sinai Syr. 261⁸ and transmits the eleven *Eothina* ascribed to emperor Leo.

We know that the liturgy of the Syro-Melchite regions was parallel to that of Constantinople and that Greek was always in use, along with Syriac and Arabic⁹. Together with a book production in Syriac, we should expect then to have been a local production of musical books entirely written in Greek. This is especially likely in the case of the *Heirmologion*, a book that contains the model melodies for the *kanons*. The *Heirmologia* served the purpose of studying the melodies and were, therefore, not intended for use during the service¹⁰. Once the melodies were learned, they

⁴RAASTED, *Musical Notation*, cit., pp. 34-35.

⁵RAASTED, *Musical Notation*, cit., pp. 16-24.

⁶J. RAASTED, *A primitive Palaeobyzantine Musical Notation*, in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 23 (1962), pp. 301-310.

⁷For the different stages of the Coislin notation see C. FLOROS, *Universale Neumenkunde*, Band I, Kassel 1970, pp. 311-326.

⁸H. HUSMANN, *Ein Syrisches Sticherarion mit Paläobyzantinischer Notation (Sinai syr. 261)*, in *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, I (1975), pp. 9-57, facsimile edition of the MS Sinai syr. 261 in H. HUSMANN, *Ein Syro-Melkitisches Tropologion mit Altbyzantinischer Notation Sinai Syr. 261* in *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, IX/1-2 (Wiesbaden 1975/78).

⁹J. ABSI, *Le chant de l'église Melkite. L'Hymnographie Grecque et ses versions Syriaque et Arabe. La relation texte-musique*. Thèse pour un doctorat en Musicologie sous la direction du Rd. P. Dr. Prof. L. HAGE, Université Saint-Esprit, Kaslik-Liban 1988, pp. 60-75.

¹⁰O. STRUNK, *The Chants of the Byzantine-Greek liturgy*, in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, pp. 297-330, esp. p. 310; M. VELIMIROVIC, *The Byzantine Heirmos and Heirmologion*, in *Gattungen der Music in Einzeldarstellungen, Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, München 1973, pp. 192-244, esp. p. 204.

could be adapted to the Syriac *troparia*. Only a part of the population knew Greek, but those who did not had the right to practice in their native language, provided that they only used translations from the official liturgical books¹¹.

Also, one would expect Melchite books in Greek to exhibit all the notational stages but not the Chartres¹² notation. Is it, then, possible to use palaeographical and musical criteria to identify the Melchite books among those written in Greek? This question can only be answered on the basis of conjecture. In Syriac manuscripts that transmit the melodies in a way corresponding to Byzantine notation we can observe a special shaping of some of the neumes¹³. Possibly, then, we can use the presence of such forms as an indication of Melchite origin of Greek manuscripts. Here, I consider it worthwhile to present some observations on the codex Sinai gr. 1258, a codex which I have examined in more detail in my Ph. D. dissertation concerning the *Heirmologion*¹⁴. In my opinion, there is in this manuscript sufficient evidence to speak of a possible Syro-Melchite origin.

The *Heirmologion* Sinai gr. 1258 is mutilated at the beginning. The folios containing the first mode and a part of the second mode are missing¹⁵. The manuscript arranges the ode texts according to the so-called

¹¹This is evident by an answer given by the Patriarch of Antiochia to the Patriarch of Alexandria at the end of the 12th century. The text is found in *Patrologia Graeca*, Theodoros Balsamon, vol. 138, col. 957.

¹²According to Strunk, the presence of Chartres notation in the area of Palestine is an isolated phenomenon, and as such it does not influence the processes that lead to the establishment of a local notational tradition. Instead, we should in this area search for the origin of the Coislin type notation, O. STRUNK, *The Notation of the Chartres Fragment*, in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, ed. K. LEVY, New York 1977, pp. 68-111 esp. pp. 107-110.

¹³RAASTED, *Musical Notation*, cit., p. 31

¹⁴I. PAPATHANASSIOU, *Il quarto modo autentico nella tradizione medievale irmologica*. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Copenhagen 1994, Voll. 1, 2a and 2b, esp. Vol. 1 pp. 30-54.

¹⁵For a description of the lacunas, see v. BUSCH, *Untersuchungen zum Byzantinischen Heirmologion Der Echos Deuteros*, Hamburg 1971, pp. 33-34.

“ode-order”¹⁶. Its main text is written exclusively in Greek, but with marginal notes in Arabic. It is dated AD 1257 and is written on paper, presumably of the Arabo-Oriental type. It consists of 157 folios and it is furnished with fully developed Middle Byzantine notation. The writing of the chant texts, and also the ornamentation on some folios, gives a strong impression of a provincial origin (tables 1-2). In folio 144v the copyist subscribed the codex in Greek (f. 144v, see table 3): Ἐτελειώθη ἐν κυρίῳ, ἡ παροῦσα δέλτος, τό εἰρημολόγιον τό εὐλογημένον· χειρί τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καί πτωχοῦ Παύλου μοναχοῦ· Εἰς τήν ΙΕ τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνός· Ἐτη ζ ψ [ξ]¹⁷ ε. Now, on folio 145r (Table 3) is found an owners note and a translation of the Greek subscription, both written in Arabic¹⁸. It is not possible to establish with security whether these have been added by the same copyist that wrote the whole manuscript, or whether they are due to a later hand. The translation, made for me by Lektor Svend

¹⁶This term was coined by E. KOSCHMIEDER, *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente*, in *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 37 (1955), p. 69. The palimpsest Garrett 24 presents a structure in “ode-order”. It is an Heirmologion of Syro-Palestinian origin, datable to the eight century; this is the earliest exemplar of this arrangement of the Heirmologion, J. RAASTED, *The Princeton Heirmologion Palimpsest*, in *Cahiers de l'institut du Moyen-âge Grec et Latin*, 62 (1962), pp. 219-235.

¹⁷The ambiguous and problematic reading of this letter (written in *rasura*) has lead scholars to different interpretations of the date. In fact, if it is interpreted as ζ, (which is syntactically incorrect because of the ascription to the last but one digit of the number) the MS is dated 1268 AD. On the contrary, Husmann suggests the reading o-micron instead of ζ. The final result is the same, but in this case the number is written correctly. H. HUSMANN, *Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften des 9. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, Herkunft und Schreiber*, in *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 27 (1978), pp. 143-168, esp. p. 153. Considering the shapes of ζ and ξ elsewhere in the manuscript (see e.g. fol. 6r, table 4), it is evident that the last letter but one is ξ. A further support to this dating emerges from the Arabic translation of the Greek subscription, that ascribes the MS to the year 6765 from the creation of the world. In spite of the certain reading of the numeral ξ, it will be necessary to use UV gear on the erasure in order to establish a reliable interpretation of the data contained therein.

¹⁸One should not be surprised at the use of Arabic. The Melchite Church employed through its history three languages: Greek, Syriac and Arabic. Only the Melchites used Greek, whereas the Jacobite Church used exclusively Syriac for its prayers and services, cf. note 9.

Søndergård (Carsten Niebuhr Inst. for nærorientalske Studier, University of Copenhagen) reads as follows: “ This holy book belongs to the blessed servant Shams al-ri’asa Nasr ibn Allah, the psaltes, the noble and worthy sheik. God bless him with this and let him succeed with all good things. Amen”.

“This Blessed *Heirmologion* was finished with God’s help by the humble servant among the priest and monk Boulos the poor, the fifteenth of the month Tammuz, in the year six thousand seven hundred sixty five after the creation of the world. Amen. And glory belongs to God for ever”.

We do not possess sufficient evidence to determine precisely where the codex was written. One possibility could be the monastery of Saint Catherine where it is kept today and I consider this hypothesis rather plausible, when we take into consideration that many codices which could have been used as a model were at hand in this monastery. Furthermore, it is supported by the fact that only adherents of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy, whether of Greek, Arab, Georgian, Slavic or Syrian origin, were allowed as monks in the monastery¹⁹.

The notation of Sinai gr. 1258 can be described as belonging to the fully developed Middle Byzantine type. The shapes of a selection of neumes are identical, or approximately identical, with those of the Syro-Melchite MSS, and this is a further argument in favour of assigning the MS to the book production of this area:

- The *xeron klasma*, for example, in Sinai gr. 1258 has the same outline as in the manuscripts Paris, fonds syriaque 134, 135 and Sinai Syr. 261 (see table 5).
- Also the *kylisma* of Sinai gr. 1258 is very similar (written in a “fluent” manner) to the Syriac MSS. Par. syr. 134, 135 and Sinai syr. 261 (see table 6).

¹⁹K. WEITZMANN, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai*, Minnesota 1973, p. 6.

- Furthermore, the *apoderma*, with its “open arch shape”, appears to be a common feature of Sinai gr. 1258 and the Syriac MSS, Sinai syr. 261 and Paris syr. 134 (see table 7).
- Another element that associates Sinai gr. 1258 with the Syrian MSS Paris syr. 133, 134, 135, 136, 137 and Sinai syr. 161, is the use of dots after the main signatures, (see table 8).
- Finally, the presence of four points in the top right corner of some pages in Sinai gr. 1258 seems to me no less significant. These are found in various Syro-Melchite MSS, for example Paris, fonds syriaque 135, 136, 137, 155, (see table 9).

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to compare the melodies of our manuscript with those of the Syro-Melchite *Heirmologion*. Instead, I have tried to trace some of the melodies in MS Sinai gr. 1258 of the fourth authentic mode through approximately all the preserved Byzantine *Heirmologia* that contain this mode, dating from the tenth to the fourteenth century. In general, the tradition of the *Heirmologion* appears instable in comparison to that of the *Sticherarion*, especially in the manuscripts outside Group I and II, according to the grouping by von Busch, the two groups that present a rather uniform musical tradition, apart from some minor deviations²⁰.

The members of group I are: Lavra B 32, Saba 83²¹, Patmos 55 and Athos Esphigmenou 54, whereas group II includes the MSS Paris Coislin 220, Athos Lavra Γ. 9, Patmos 54, Crypt. E. γ. III, Crypt. E. γ. II²², Athos Iviron 470²³, Athos Vatopediou 1531 and Saba 83²⁴. In the first of these groups we find only MSS furnished with archaic Coislin notation, in the second both developed Coislin notation and Middle-Byzantine notation. For the musical examples, I will take the versions of Athos Iviron

²⁰PAPATHANASSIOU, *Il quarto modo autentico*, cit., pp. 20-21.

²¹J. RAASTED, *Hirmologium Sabbaticum*, (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, VIII), Copenhagen 1968-1970.

²²L. TARDO, *Hirmologium Cryptense*, (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, III), Rome 1951.

²³C. HØEG, *Sticherarium*, (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, pars prins. vol. I), Copenhagen 1935.

²⁴Only the most recent redaction, the melodies given the “modernized” notation of this MS belong to group II.

470 (H) and Crypt. E. γ. II. (G). In addition, the remaining sources (group III)²⁵ should be mentioned: Sinai gr. 1256 (Si1), Sinai gr. 1257 (Si2), Sinai gr. 1258 (Si3), Saba 599 (Sa), Vat. Pal. gr. 243 (V), Athos Vatopediou 1532 (Vb) and, for some melodies also MS Athos Karakallou 213 (Ca) is used.

When Oliver Strunk studied the divergence of the melodies of MS Sinai gr. 1258 from the earlier tradition, he concluded that the divergent melodies of this *Heirmologion* represented a hitherto oral tradition and anticipated the melodic tradition of the MS Saba 599 and other manuscripts related to this one²⁶; also v. Busch realized that the melodies of MS Sinai gr. 1258, together with the MSS Sinai gr. 929, Sinai gr. 1257 and Saba 617 reflecting the the tradition of Sinai and Palestine²⁷, should be set apart from the “Si1” family.

Now, if we look at the general picture of the melodic tradition, it appears that the melodies of Sinai gr. 1258 are closer to the second group (example 2a). In some respects, our MS goes its own way, totally independent of the rest of the tradition (examples 1 and 2b). Probably we are here confronted with another branch of the Heirmological tradition; I suppose that the Syro-Melchites, copying or writing *Heirmologia ex novo*, took as their point of departure the version of the manuscripts belonging to groups I and II, but inserted some melodic passages taken from their own oral tradition. On the other hand, we are still far from the revision by Koukouzeles, attested first in MS Sinai gr. 1256 and its parallel MS St. Petersburg 121, both copies of an Koukouzelean autograph. The actual state of research on the *Heirmologion* taken into consideration, I think it is a little too early to claim that Koukouzeles knew the tradition of Sinai gr. 1258, or other related MSS, that certainly must have existed.

²⁵PAPATHANASSIOU, *Il quarto modo autentico*, cit., pp. 22-29.

²⁶O. STRUNK, *Melody Construction in Byzantine Chant*, in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, ed K. LEVY, New York 1977, pp. 191-201, esp. p. 200.

²⁷v. BUSCH, *Untersuchungen*, cit., pp. 215-216.

EXAMPLES

Example 1, EE 133, number 1161²⁸ (Σὺ, Κύριέ μου φῶς) section 11-26²⁹.

[G: 82r, H: 60r, Si3: 41v, Si1: 83r, Si2: 44v, Sa: 102v, V: 50v, Vb: 38r, Ca: ?]

The syllables without pitch indication follow the MS Crypt. E. γ. II. (G).

V	e	f	g	g	g	f	e		e		e	e				
Ca	f	e		g	g	f	e		e		e	e				
Vb	f	e		g	g	f	e		e		e	e				
Sa	f	e		g	g	f	e		ef		e	e				
Si2	f	e		ef	g	f	e	fe	e		e	e				
Si1	f	e		g	g	f	e		e		e	e				
Si3	ef			fi	e	d	c	c	b	d	c	a	b			
G	d	efe	d	d	ge	f	e	d	f	d	ef	e	c	d	e	d
	ε	λη	λυ	θας	φως	α	γι	ον	ε	πι	στρε	φων	εκ	ζο	φω	δου
H		ef							e		e					
H ^v									f		f					

²⁸According to the numbering proposed by J. RAASTED, *Observations on the Manuscript Tradition of Byzantine Music. I: A list of Heirmos Call-Numbers, Based on Eustratiades' Edition of the Heirmologion*, in *Cahiers de l'institut du Moyen-âge Grec et Latin*, 1 (1969), pp. 1-12; IDEM, *Observations on the Manuscript Tradition of Byzantine Music II: The Contents of Some Early Heirmologia*, in *Cahiers de l'institut du Moyen-âge Grec et Latin*, 8 (1972), pp. 35-47.

²⁹I have numbered all the syllables of the composition. By the term "section" I refer to the selected syllables.

Example 2a, EE 133, number 1160, (Ἐπαρθέντα σὲ ἰδοῦσα), section 1-13.
 [G: 82r, H: 60r, Si3: 37r, Si1: 83r, Si2: 44v, Sa: 98r, V: 50v, Vb: 38r, Ca: 40r, Pb: 50v]

Ca	d	d	f	e		d	f	e	d	e	c		
Si1	d	d	f	e		d	f	e	d	e	c		
V	[d	d	f	e		d]	f	e	d	e	c		
Vb	e	e	ef	e		d	f	e	d	e	c		
Pb ^t	e	e	f	e		d	f	e	d	e	c		
Pb ^v	e	e	g	f	e	f	g	f	e	f	d	e	e
Sa	e	e	g	f	e	f	e	d	c	e	c		
Si2	e	e	e								c		
Si3											c	c	
G	G	cb	c	d	d	e	d	c	bc	d	bc	d	d
H	ε	παρ	θεν	τα	σε	ι	δου	σα	η	εκ	κλη	σι	α

Example 2b, EE 133, number 1160, (Ἐπαρθέντα σὲ ἰδοῦσα), section 22-35.
 [G: 82r, H: 60r, Si3: 37r, Si1: 83r, Si2: 44v, Sa: 98r, V: 50v, Vb: 38r, Ca: 40r, Pb: 50v]

Ca				g			f	f	e	d	ef		
Si1				g			f	f	e	d	ef		
V				g			f	f	e	d	ef		
Vb								b	c	d	efed		
Pb ^t				g	dede		f	f	e	d	fgfe		de
Pb ^v	g	g	g	a'	efef	ef	g	f	e	d	e	c	c ad
Sa						fef	ad			e	fgfe		
Si2			fg		de		e	f	e	d		e	
Si3	e	ec	d	c	b	b		f	e	d	ef		
G	f	f	f	fe	def	f	d	c	d	ed	f	d	d d
H	της	δι	και	ο	συ	νης	ε	στη	εν	τη	τα	ξη	αυ της
H	ef	g	g	g	f	f	ad				ge		



Another thing that must not be overlooked is the presence in the manuscript Sinai. gr. 1258 of the *heirmos* Θεόν Πατέρα δημιουργόν. In Follieri's "Initia" this chant is only indicated by the incipit, being referred to as a model melody³⁰. This incipit is found in the Roman editions³¹ and in the Athens edition³² of the *menaia* as an item of a *kanon* modelled upon ὡς ἐν ἡπείρῳ πεξεύσας (EE 224). However, the *heirmos* Θεόν Πατέρα δημιουργόν is missing in the edition of Eustratiades³³. On the other hand, we know from the *menaia* that the piece was used at the morning office for the feast of St. Babylas, Hieromartyr and bishop of Antiochia, and for the Prophet Moses (September 4th)³⁴, as a model for the *troparia*: Ἡ μνήμη ν σήμερον ἀδελφοί, οἱ νέοι σήμερον φοιτηταί, τὸ χρίσμα τὸ ἱερατικόν.

The music of the *heirmos* Θεόν Πατέρα δημιουργόν is only transmitted in the following manuscripts: Athos Lavra B 32, Esphigmenou 54 and Crypt. E. γ. II and in the last folio of 1258³⁵, (in the of our days tradition it is not known at all). In Athos Lavra B 32 it forms part of the *akolouthia* βυζαντι[έ]α (ἄπειρον πλῆθος ὑδάτων) as the eighth ode, in Esphigmenou 54 it is also the eighth ode, but of a different *akolouthia* (τῷ ἐν θαλάσῃ ἐρυθρᾷ)³⁶, whereas in the MS from Grottaferrata it is designated "allos" of the eighth ode in the *akolouthia* Σιναΐτικὴ (ἄπειρον πλῆθος ὑδάτων). In Sinai gr. 1258 it is found on folio 157^r (see table 10)

³⁰E. FOLLIERI, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. II, Vatican City 1961.

³¹*Μηναία τοῦ ὁλοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ*, Vol. A, Rome 1888, p. 55

³²*Μηναίον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου*, Athens 1959, p. 47.

³³S. EUSTRATIADES, *Εἰρημολόγιον*, Chennevières-sur-Marne 1932.

³⁴In the Syrian liturgical calendar St. Babylas is commemorated on January 24, *Biblioteca Sanctorum*, II, p. 679.

³⁵This folio is added to the manuscript, and following, the *heirmos* that it contains was originally not included in the MS.

³⁶In the edition by Eustratiades, the *heirmos* Θεόν Πατέρα δημιουργόν is not present in this *akolouthia*.

with the indication “second plagal mode”, but without connection to any *akolouthia*. Why was the folio containing this *heirmos* in Paleobyzantine notation³⁷ added at the end of the codex? The answer can, of course, only be hypothetical, but in this case it seems plausible to focus on two points: The first is that only in this area do we find manuscripts furnished with archaic notations as late as the 13th to 16th centuries. Secondly this *heirmos* could have been used especially in the Syro-Melchite area because of the elevation of Babylas to its Patriarchal see, Antiochia, in the third century AD. The copyist, then, had as his model a Greek manuscript that did not contain this feast, but he, or the possessor of the manuscript, wanted to insert the *heirmos*, using another source. My examination of the MS was made on the basis of a microfilm in possession of the MMB collection in Copenhagen. Of course, definitive results can not be obtained without a thorough examination of the manuscript itself.

Many other medieval Byzantine manuscripts are full of notes in Arabic, and now they call for a closer examination. Maybe, some of these manuscripts contain elements that can provide a solution to some of the problems that have not yet been finally settled.

The melodic tradition of Θεόν Πατέρα δημιουργόν was interrupted in the middle ages, and the piece probably reappears first again in the MS Athos Xenofontos 159 (Xen)³⁸, written by Νεόφυτος in 1610 AD and containing the *Heirmologion* of Θεοφάνης Καρύκης. The melody is completely different from the medieval one; in this manuscript the

³⁷ According to the numbers of syllables without notation, one should ascribe the stage of notation to Coislin II/Floros. However, the presence of *ison*, not only at the end of the composition but also in the middle of some cola, makes me place this notation somewhere between Coislin II and Coislin III/Floros. For the two last lines, one could even speak about Coislin IV/Floros.

³⁸ ΓΡ. ΣΤΑΘΗΣ, *Τά χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς*. Ἅγιον Ὅρος, τόμος Β', Athens 1976; Μ. ΧΑΤΖΗΓΙΑΚΟΥΜΗΣ, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα τουρκοκρατίας (1453-1832)*, τόμος Α', Athens 1975, p. 308.

I will here thank Λυκούργος Αγγελόπουλος for having informed me on the presence of the *heirmos* Θεόν Πατέρα δημιουργόν in the *Heirmologion* of Θεοφάνης Καρύκης.

heirmos is ascribed to the second authentic mode, and it can not be excluded that it is an original composition by Καρούχης.

With the transcription of this *heirmos* from the MS (G) Crypt. E. γ. II, correlated to all known sources that contain it, I have intended to restore its musical tradition, and, hopefully, it will again some day be brought to performance.

E	?		✓			'	✓	⋈		⋈	'
L	227r		✓		⋈	'	✓		⋈		⋈'
Si3	157r	$\frac{H}{\lambda} \beta$	✓		⋈						
Xen.	209r	$\frac{H}{\lambda}$	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	$\frac{H}{\lambda}$	⋈	—	
G	193v	$\frac{H}{\lambda}$	✓	✓	⋈	'	✓	⋈	⋈	⋈	
			θε	ον	πα	τε	ρα	δη	μι	συρ	γον'
			a	GF	EF	Ga	a	G	F	E	E

E		⋈	✓	⋈		⋈	/	⋈		\		.
L		⋈		/	✓	[I]	/	⋈	✓	\		
Si3	⋈	✓	⋈	✓		⋈	✓	/	⋈	\		⋈
Xen	✓	✓	✓	⋈	✓	⋈	✓	$\frac{H}{\lambda}$	⋈	$\frac{H}{\lambda}$	⋈	⋈
G	✓	✓	—	—	✓	—	✓	⋈	⋈	\		✓
	ο	μο	ου	α	ον	υ	ον	και	θει	ον	πνευ	μα'
	E	E	F	G	G	a	b c	b	a	b a	G	G

E	⋈		⋈	/	⋈		/	⋈	✓	⋈	⋈		⋈	⋈'
L		⋈		/	⋈	\	⋈		✓		⋈		⋈	
Si3	⋈	—	✓	/	✓	/		✓	⋈	⋈	⋈			
Xen	✓	✓	—	—	✓	⋈	✓	⋈	$\frac{H}{\lambda}$	—	—		⋈	⋈
G	✓	✓	—	/	⋈	⋈	—	✓	✓	⋈	⋈		⋈	
	α	εν ³⁹	φλο ⁴⁰	γι	νε	α	νι	αι	α	δην	προ	το	πο ⁴¹	ντες'
	G	G	a	b	a	G	a	a	b	a b	G	aG	FE	E

³⁹L e E read ευσεβεις.

⁴⁰Si3 reads τρισιν.

⁴¹E read προτε[πε]τε.

E	⊃		//	⊃	⊃	/		⊃	\	//	//
L	⊃	✓	// [✓]		/	✓	⊃	/	\	//	//
Si3	⊂	⊂	//	⊂	⊂	//	//	//	⊂	/	?
Xen	⊂	—	—	✓	*	.					
G	⊂	⊂	//	⊂	—	/	⊃	⊃	\	⊃	⊃
	ευ	λο	γει	τε	τον	κυ	ρι	ον	τα	ερ	γα
	E	E	FG	G	a	bc	b	a	ba	G	G

E	⊃	/	⊃	\	//	~	✓		⊃	✓	\	//	
L	⊃	/	⊃	\	⊃/		✓		⊃	✓	\	⊃	.
Si3	/	⊃	—	⊃	/	⊃	/	⊂	⊂	/	\	//	⊂
Xen													
G	/	⊃	✓	⊃	/	⊃	⊃	⊃	—	✓	⊃	⊃	⊂
	και	υ	πε	ου	ψου	τε	αυ	τον	εις	τους	αι	ω	νας:
	b	a	b	Ga	b	a	G	EF	G	a	GF	E	E

⊃ ✓ ⊃[✓] ⊃ \ — — / ⊃[✓] ⊃[✓]

* τα ερ γα κυ ρι ου τον κυ ρι ον.

Table 1

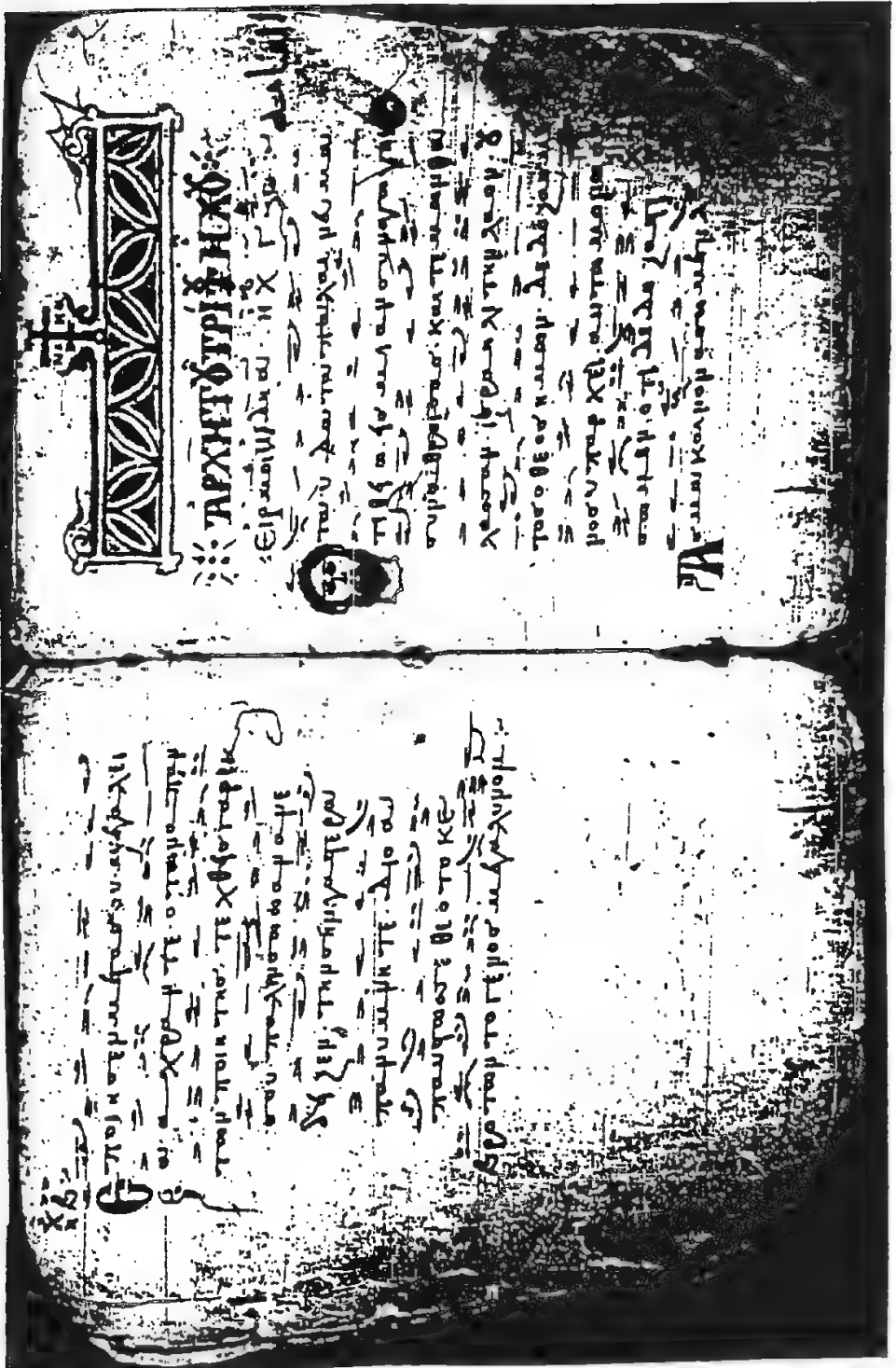
MS Sinai gr. 1258, fols. 6^v-7^r

Table 2

<p> 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 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Table 4

MS Sinai gr. 1258, fol. 6r

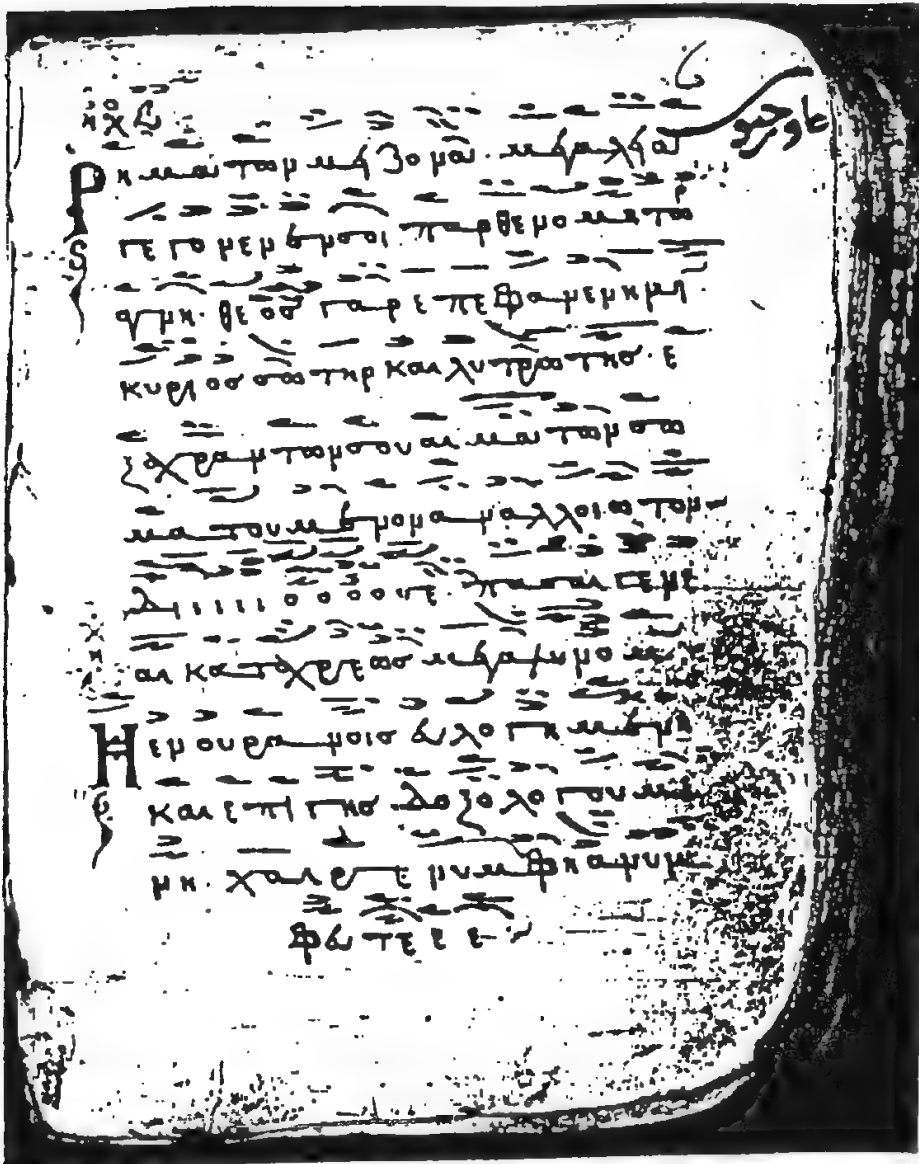


Table 5

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Par. syr. 135, f. 98r.

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Par. syr. 134, f. 47r.

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Sinai. syr. 261, f. 21r.

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Sinai gr. 1258, f. 27r.

Table 8

مسبح بحمداً و بركاته
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 الذي كنا لنهتدي لاه
 ناله صلوات الله عليه

Par. syr. 133, f. 31v.

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Par. syr. 135, f. 7.

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Par. syr. 136, f. 146r.

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Par. syr. 137, f. 260v.

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Par. syr. 134, f. 47v.

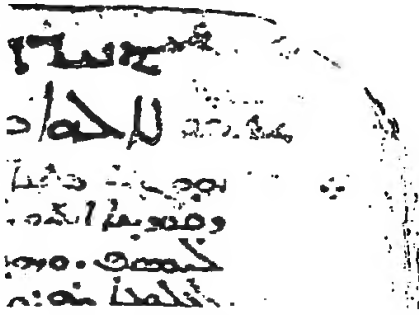
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Sinai syr. 261, f. 69r.

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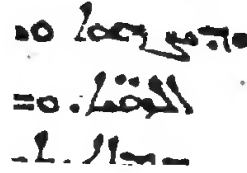
Sinai gr. 1258, f. 7r.

Table 9



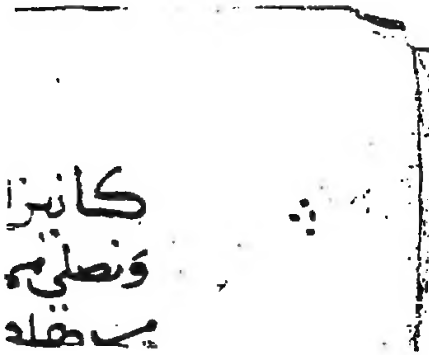
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Par. syr. 155, f. 19v7.



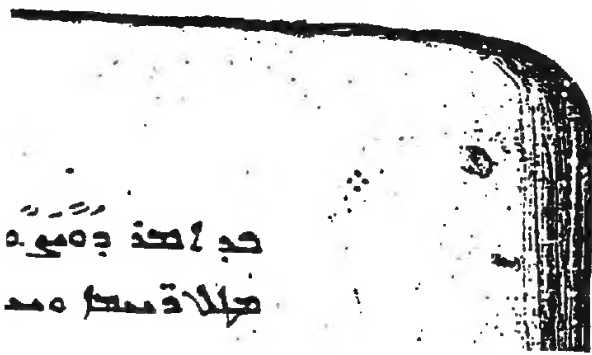
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Par. syr. 135, f. 141v.



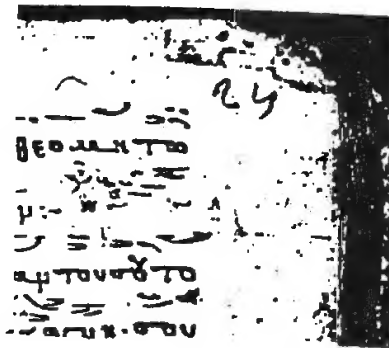
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Par. syr. 136, f. 147v.



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Par. syr. 137, f. 260v.

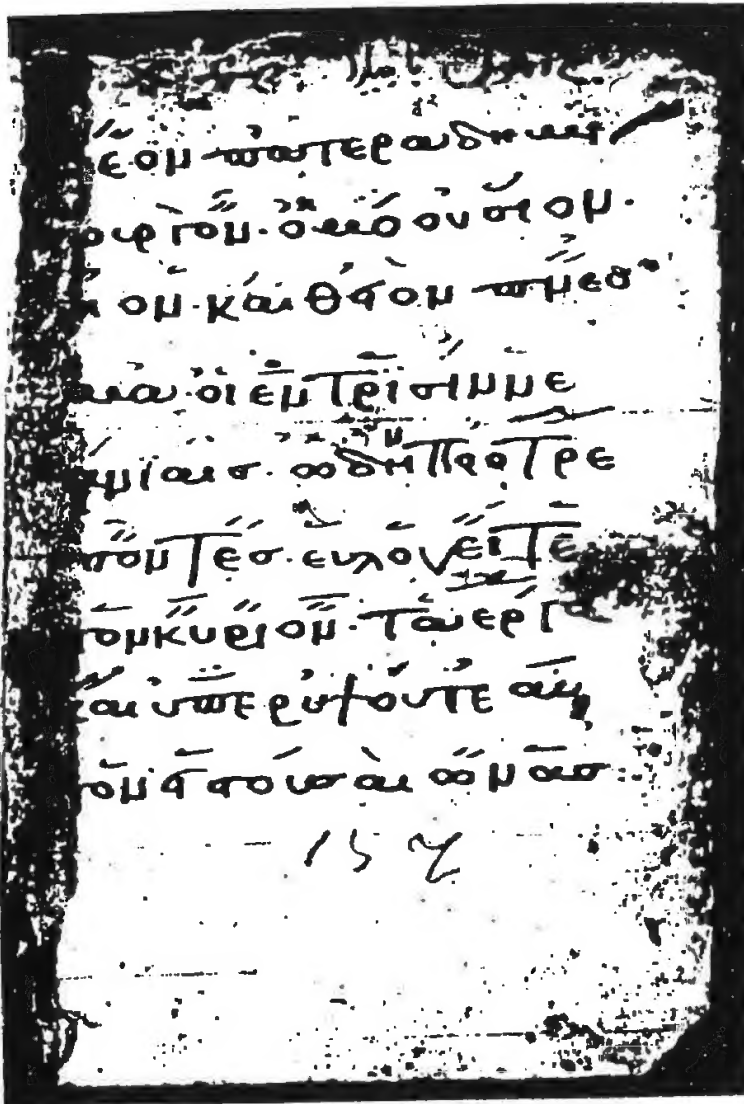


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Sinai gr. 1258, f. 24r.

Table 10

MS Sinai gr. 1258, fol. 157r



Another discussion of dates, using Treebit.
Ginzrich / Welke 1977, 152.